For information pertaining to Lebanese recipes and food preparation see 70: Rowland, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 200-231.]

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Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqaushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *ʾarag*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *ʾarag* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *ʾarag* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

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262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *ḥalawi*, ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *ṭiḥīni* (mashed sesame seeds). *Ḥalawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu*, which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban*, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked *kibbi*.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things. Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 263 Tea (*shayy*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is syrupy sweet is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kusa maḥshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*salaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbouli*. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi*, *tabbouli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

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cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*majaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *tahîni* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *hummuş bi tahîni*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghawbaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Westermarck (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *sarbûsh*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *sarbûsh*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbâdi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *sarbûsh* which, however, is not

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place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transit of goods.

444 617

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

256 517

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *safa* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is spheroidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

256 348

The woman prepares her dough at home making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Munsif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

252 256

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks at a time can be placed. [415]

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252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hafa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *fara*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *fara* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [404] per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

258 [471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of mutual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wastiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leben*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubbi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

124 a single farm near Zahle. The rate of por-
232 cine infection probably totals less than 2
144 per cent under normal conditions. Pork is consumed only in Christian households, and human cases are seldom observed.

124 OTHER HELMINTH INFECTIONS. Infection
269 with one or more species of intestinal worms is prevalent among both rural and urban populations. Ascariasis is widely distributed, with the lowest infection rates in the cultivated areas of the coastal plain between Beirut and Sidon and the highest in the Bekaa. The infection, which is more frequent among children than adults, probably averages 25 to 50 per cent in the country as a whole. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common, but strongyloidiasis is relatively rare.

Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is second to ascariasis in prominence. The infection rates range from 3 to 15 per cent in different localities, but are highest in the vicinity of towns and cities, where the consumption of beef exceeds that in the rural villages. The use of
● [252] raw meat in the preparation of the popular national dish, *kubi*, is a factor in the spread of the disease. Infection with the pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is sometimes seen in the Christian communities. The dwarf tapeworm, *Hymenolepis nana*, is encountered occasionally, especially in children.

124 Echinococcosis is sporadic. The preva-
232 lence of the disease in the general population is not known, but it apparently is far from negligible. According to the records of the American University hospital in Beirut, 149 persons, mainly from Lebanon and Syria, were treated for hydatid disease in the 22 years 1926-48. The rate of canine infection is high throughout most of this region. The examination of 237 stray dogs, collected on the streets of Beirut in the summer of 1948,[39] revealed that about 33 per cent harbored adult forms of *Echinococcus granulosus*. Surveys have also demonstrated the presence of hydatid cysts in a large percentage of the meat animals slaughtered in the abattoirs in Beirut. In